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ABSTRACT

This study explored the dynamic of race within the research process when researchers and respondents were African American, looking at critical race theory. It was part of a larger study on the cultures of inner city schools at the beginning of a privately funded scholarship program. Researchers were both African American and white. This paper presents one African American researcher's experiences with African American teachers and administrators who waited until formal data collection ended, and the tape recorder was off, before speaking frankly about racial issues. Their comments about race and racism focused on: conditions that African American children lived in and the impact on student achievement and the inability of white teachers to effectively teach African American students. African American teachers viewed themselves as cultural mediators and believed there were not enough African American teachers on staff. No African American teachers mentioned racial issues during their formal interviews, and no white researchers experienced any such spontaneous discussions about race. The paper discusses how truths constructed from such data might differ based on researcher race, noting how research will shape education if only partial truths are available to all researchers and how racial context influences data interpretation. (Contains 25 references.)(SM)

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"Is the tape off?": African American Respondents' Spontaneous Discussions of Race and Racism when the Researcher is also African American

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M. Cookie Newsom, Carolyn S. Ridenour, Katie Kinnucan-Welsch

Purpose of the Paper

The purpose of this paper was to engage the three authors in exploring the dynamic of race within the research process when both the respondents and the researcher are African American. This is a particularly important question to consider when doing qualitative research because researcher reflexivity is such an integral part of the interpretation of the data. It is well established that personal culture, values and perceptions have an influence on the interpretations of data (Siraj- Blatchford & Siraj-Blatchford, 1997; Alcoff & Potter, 1993; Lincoln, 1997). But what effect might the spontaneous stories of African American respondents concerning race and racism in society, in general, and in their schools, in particular, have on the African American researcher's interpretations, perceptions and conclusions, especially when race was not the focus of the inquiry? Lived research experiences led us to ask this question. We were determined to explore possible answers; this paper is a result of that search for understanding.

In the paper we argue, first of all, that the question of how race influences research is not only worthy of study, but begs our attention. Second, we call on critical race theory as a way to explain the experiences at the intersection of African American researchers and African American participants. Third, we provide background regarding the particular study that elicited the race dynamic to which we are responding. Fourth, the primary author of the paper, Cookie Newsom, narrates her experiences with African American teachers and administrators who waited until the formal data collection process was finished, and the tape recorder was off, before speaking frankly, and spontaneously, about the issues of race that were, we concluded later,

obviously weighing heavily on their minds. Fifth, we discuss, speculate, and ponder these experiences through the lens of critical race theory and raise questions about the meaning they might have for research practice.

Theoretical Frame

The conceptual framework of this paper is grounded in critical race theory (CRT) as it applies to education. The fact that race brings lenses to the research process, both for respondents and researcher, is well-documented (Aaronsohn, Carter, & Howell, 1995; Au & Kawakami, 1991; Delpit, 1988). This is particularly true when the researcher is familiar with critical race theory (Avery & Walker, 1993; Cochran-Smith, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1998, 2000a). CRT and its implications for education are discussed by numerous scholars (Ladson-Billings, 2000a; Lynn, 1999: Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado, & Crenshaw, 1993; Solorzano & Villalpando, as cited in Lynn, 1999; Tate, 1997). Lynn (1999) summarizes some of the purposes of critical race theory identified by various scholars. He identifies the explanatory power of a critical race theory in that it:

1. Recognizes the centrality of race and intransigence of racism in contemporary American society.
2. Rejects East-West European/Modernist claims of neutrality, objectivity , rationality and universality
3. Historicizes its analysis by relying heavily on the experiential knowledge of people of color. (p. 608)

These factors came through to us, unexpectedly, in a recent study. The three of us were collaborators with others on a research team that explored the cultures of inner city schools during the initial stages of a privately funded scholarship program. The second

and third authors are White women, and the first author of this paper, is an African American researcher. She carried out conversations with African American teachers and white teachers as key informants. CRT helped explain her research experiences, experiences that led us to question how race influences educational research activities, when race is not the targeted variable being studied. Exploring the impact of race generated this paper.

Background for this Study

In the fall of 1997, a research team was established at the University of Dayton (Ohio) to examine the impact of choice on an urban school environment. Privately funded scholarships were being offered through an application and lottery process to low-income families whose children attended inner city elementary schools. The study focused on the effects of choice on urban schools, i.e., what happens to urban schools when parents opt to take their children from public schools and enroll them in private schools? Parents who were chosen could apply the scholarship (about $1500) to tuition for their child to attend a participating private school.

The university research project was designed to examine the cultures of the participating urban public and private elementary schools. Data collection consisted of classroom observations during the teaching of reading and mathematics, interviews of teachers and parents, and general observations of school life. Four public schools and four private religiously sponsored schools were sites of study during the first year; ten schools were study sites in year two.

During 1997 – 1998, the first year of the study, the research team consisted of seven researchers, four doctoral students and three university faculty members. Three of the four doctoral student researchers were White; in addition, one was male, and two were females. One member of the team was Cookie, an African American female. The university faculty members

were two White females (the second and third authors of this paper, Carolyn and Katie) and one White male. In the second year of the study, 1998 – 1999, the two White female doctoral student researchers left the team and were replaced by two other doctoral students, a White female and an African American female. The doctoral students collected data at the school sites and maintained field notes in which they reflected on their experiences in the schools. Demographic information was collected on both students and educators. (The racial profiles of students and teachers in these eight schools of year one appear on Tables 1 and 2.)

Cookie Newsom participated as a researcher for the two years of the project; and, the account of her experience was examined for this paper by Cookie, Carolyn, and Katie. Emerging from the account of her experience was the realization that, at the end of virtually every interview or observation of an African American educator (teachers and administrators), the informant would immediately, and spontaneously, launch into a discussion on some aspect of race or racism. Although there were opportunities for the respondents to mention race during the formal interview process (when the tape recorder was on), very few made any references to race. It was only during the informal aftermath (when the tape recorder was off) that they shared their concerns and ideas freely and without prompting. During research team debriefing conversations, the other African American female member of the team indicated that it had happened to her as well. It was Cookie's data collection experience that was the focus of this study; and her personal, first-person, account of that experience is told next.

Emerging Realities of Race while Collecting Data: Cookie's Story

During data collection for my research, one component of which would eventually become my dissertation, I was slow at first to recognize what was happening when I interviewed African American educators. Because I am also African American it seemed natural, at first, that

the informal conversation immediately following the formal interviews would turn to subjects of race and racism. It has been my experience in most of my adult life that when African Americans are together in small groups without any White people present, the discussion frequently turns to race.

As a result, the first two or three times this happened in the schools I was visiting I did not make special note of it. I mentioned the topics of the discussion in my field notes as part of my attempt to capture as much of my experience as possible for later interpretation, but did not recognize the pattern until the same thing occurred repeatedly and uniformly.

Looking back at my field notes I noticed that every African American teacher and administrator I spoke to had referred to some aspect of race in our post interview conversations. In addition, most of the African American educators I had not interviewed, but had spoken to casually in the teachers' lounge or on playground duty, also turned the conversation toward some race-based topic of discussion.

The comments of the African American educators about race and racism could be divided into two categories: 1. Conditions that African American children must live in and the impact that those conditions (poverty, high-crime, drug abuse, etc.) have on the students' achievement, and 2. The inability of the White teachers in their building to work effectively with African American children. Although these two issues are mentioned as distinctly separate, the participants I talked with linked them causally. Both circumstances were attributed by the African American teachers and administrators to the same root cause—White racism.

The African American educators seemed to view themselves as what one author calls cultural mediators (Mitchell, 1998). Describing this attitude toward students, Mitchell writes:

On one hand, they acknowledged student backgrounds often included poverty and

> the related problems of unemployment, drug abuse and violence. The teachers recognized the negative effects these environmental hazards can have on student growth and development. On the other hand, they related to their students as children who both could learn and wanted to learn, but who had to overcome environmental hazards in the process. (p. 106)

The last part of the above statement, that the African American teachers related to their African American students, seems to be a pivotal element in the perception of the African American educators that White teachers could not work effectively with African American students.

An example of the prevalence of this attitude can be illustrated by my experiences at an elementary school I will call Beaumont[1]. Beaumont is a public, predominantly African American, inner-city school. The teaching staff is predominantly White. The principal, Mrs. Cedric, is an African American woman in her thirties. This is her first year as the principal of Beaumont and this is her first administrative position.

During my visits to Beaumont I observed and interviewed three teachers, two African American females, Mrs. Gates and Mrs. Fence, and one White male teacher, Mr. Montrose. I also interviewed Mrs. Cedric. What quickly emerged in the interviews with all three teachers was the attitude that there were discipline problems at Beaumont, and that Mrs. Cedric had to bear some of the responsibility for those problems. During the formal interviews, all three of the teachers volunteered the opinion that they felt Mrs. Cedric's lack of administrative experience was causing a problem with the smooth operation of the school.

All three teachers pointed out that large numbers of students were being sent to

the office each day. So many students were being referred to the office, in fact, that the hallway outside of the office was constantly full of students waiting to be seen by the principal. (I had observed this myself on my initial visit to introduce myself to Mrs. Cedric.)

It was only after the formal interviews were concluded that Mrs. Gates and Mrs. Fences, each separately and, without any prompting, told me that the reason that so many children were sent to the office was the inability of the White teachers on staff to relate to and work with African American children

I asked Mrs. Gates what made her think that the problem was White teachers' inability to relate to the children, or to understand them. She replied that White teachers often sent students to the office for talking or for laughing when they thought it was inappropriate. She pointed this out as evidence of their lack of understanding of African American culture.

Later, when I spoke to Mrs. Fences to follow up on comments which were similar to those offered by Mrs. Gates—that White teachers could not relate to or understand the African American children - she said that the White teachers in her building simply did not understand African American children. When I asked her for specific instances she told me that the White teachers were frequently impatient with the African American children, did not care about them, and did not have any belief in their ability to learn.

Both teachers expressed disappointment that there were not more African American teachers in their building, and Mrs. Fences expressed her belief that we should go back to segregation, that African American students learned better from African American teachers, even if the schools themselves were more rundown or poorly

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[1] All of the schools and people mentioned have been assigned pseudonyms.

supplied. This was a theme that I was to hear from several African American educators, that perhaps things were better in segregated schools after all.

When it came time to interview the principal, Mrs. Cedric, the same scenario unfolded, but from an administrative viewpoint. After the formal interview she asked me specifically, as did several other African American respondents, "Is the tape off?" When I indicated that it was, she immediately launched into a tirade about what was really wrong with her school—too many White teachers. She echoed the sentiments of Mrs. Gates and Mrs. Fences and went on to tell me that she had discussed the problem with other African American administrators in the district and that the problem seemed pervasive. White teachers simply could not teach African American children effectively, but there were too few African American teachers to hire, so what could one do?

I asked her if she had brought the topic up for discussion with the upper administration of the district and she told me she had not. She went on to ask me if I could come and do a workshop to help train her White teachers to work effectively with African American children. I told her that as a researcher I could not do that.

My experiences at Beaumont were typical of my experiences at other schools. At another inner-city, predominantly African American elementary school, Rosemont, an African American teacher, Mrs. Lockwood, told me after a formal interview that the problem with her school was too many White teachers. She went on to tell me that the White teachers in her school could not relate to African American students, did not care about them, and did not understand African American culture. I found this ironic because Mrs. Lockwood had demonstrated very poor instructional practices when I observed her, and she was teaching next door to one of the most effective teachers I had observed, who

happened to be White. I believe it was the comments of Mrs. Lockwood that made me go back to my field notes in search of similar statements by African American educators about the ineffectiveness of White teachers.

The point of this paper, however, is not to determine whether or not White teachers can work effectively with African American students. There is certainly an extensive body of scholarship that supports the idea that we must prepare White teachers better to work with African American children (Cochran-Smith, 1995; Delpit, 1988, Kailin, 1999; Ladson-Billings, 2000a). My own systematic observation study of teacher questioning behaviors suggested that there are often serious cultural discontinuities between White teachers and African American students in classrooms that hamper effective instruction and negatively impact on African American student learning. In that study, White teachers asked more questions (a significantly disproportionate number) to White students over African American students (Newsom, 2000). While African American students were an overwhelming proportion of the enrollments in the classrooms in both inner-city public and private schools, they were rarely questioned by White teachers during math instruction. Moreover, White students, a relatively small proportion of the population, were asked most of the questions.

But, my point is that there seems to be a pervasive belief among the African American educators that I talked to that the inability of White teachers to teach African American students is an immutable fact. If it is true that this belief is widely held among African American educators, then what implications might that have for researchers? And, even more importantly, what does this mean for schools? And, can we ever study this aspect of life in schools that will give us a portrayal of all perspectives?

When I asked the African American educators if they had brought this situation to the attention of anyone else they appeared uncomfortable, in some cases incredulous. They responded that they discussed the problem with other African American educators, teachers and administrators, but that they did not speak about it publicly and had certainly not discussed it with their White colleagues. They also indicated that "everyone knew" White teachers were not able to teach African American children, it was not something to be brought forward for discussion because it was well known among African American educators already.

I had anticipated that answer. The conversations on race always took place in teachers' lounges or classrooms when there were no White people present. If a White teacher happened to come into the room the topic of conversation immediately changed to something race neutral. This made me wonder exactly what the African American educators I spoke to would have told me about the problems in the school had I been White. I also wondered, of course, what the difference might have been in the answers of the White respondents, had I been White.

None of the White researchers reported any such spontaneous discussions of the role of race in education in general and in their schools in particular from either White or African American respondents. Even more surprising was the failure of any of the African American educators to mention race as a factor in education during the formal interviews. There were several open-ended questions that could have been answered with some discussion of the impact of race on the school. None of the African American educators chose to mention race in the formal interview, only in informal conversations. Would they have had such conversations with a White researcher? Would the content of

the conversations have been the same?

Interpretation, Speculation, and Questions about Research Practice and Race

Cookie's story presented definite race-based patterns of behavior among educators. The patterns were particularly compelling because her experiences were very similar to the experiences of the other African American researcher but differed dramatically from the experiences of the White researchers. All kinds of puzzles were generated in our research team discussions. Given the growing trend toward what could be called "insider" research (Collins, 1986), the puzzles warranted our further study. The trend was captured several years ago by Foster (1994), when she claimed "Social science reveals a growing trend toward 'native anthropology' and other insider research, studies by ethnic minorities of our own communities" (p. 130). What is the impact of this racial dynamic on research participants? What is the impact on research results? What is the impact on research process?

We examine the dynamics on two levels: process and content. First of all, there was the research process itself. How are the participants and interviewer impacted by race? Second, there was the issue of the content of what teachers said. For the most part, their "off the record" voices addressed the "problem" of White teachers and the informants' resistance to expressing the same thoughts to White educators or White researchers. While "process" and "content" are inextricably linked, we nevertheless discuss each of these, in turn, next.

First we reflected on the research process. The experience in this study was not all that different from what Green-Powell (1997) experienced in her study of African

American women school principals. She, however, was less concerned than she was "amused," at least insofar as her writing reveals. In her words:

> I actually looked forward to listening to the interviews after each session. I was particularly amused when one of the principals said to me, 'Now turn the recorder off. I don't want this ever repeated or ever entered into your research. This statement may come back to haunt me.' Another said, 'Now what I am about to say does not need to ever be repeated, so turn off the machine. You and I may both go to jail or get arrested.' (p. 206-207)

In this instance, it appears that the motivation for the informants' expressing strong views only *after* the tape recorder was turned off might have been fear. Informants, according to Green – Powell, were afraid that their responses would be made public. Avoiding the permanent record was their need. When one's words are captured permanently on tape, anonymity is destroyed. The researcher must elicit the trust that is the basis of confidentiality assurances. But, one's voice, when preserved, threatens anonymity. To what extent does anonymity empower one's voice? In our study, to what extent might loss of anonymity or fear of one's identity being captured on tape (and thus disclosed) have empowered these African American teachers to voice their "truth" about White teachers only when no permanent record of their views was possible? Their accounts of White racism were "safe" with Cookie, but potentially dangerous with others.

Cookie's research experiences belie any strong confidence we might have in informed consent. Teachers gave written consent in our study; confidentiality was guaranteed, according to the mandated regulations. We followed the guidelines to the letter. While driven by legitimate legal and ethical concerns for protecting the

participants, such procedures are formalistic, not humanistic. Rather than assuage discomfort about telling "what is *really* on my mind and heart," such procedures may, in fact, be one more symbol of power that disconnects teachers, especially African American teachers, from research and researchers and the predominantly White university they represent. Such formal and bureaucratically written forms may not build trust so much as they raise suspicion. Ladson-Billings (2000b), for example, emphasizes that scholars acknowledge not only who the research is "about," but who the research is "for." From the African American teachers' perspectives, they may very well be thinking "I'm bearing my soul ... for whom?" When the researcher is African American, perhaps some of that suspicion is suspended, even if only temporarily.

The commonalty of race is one connection but not all connections. When Cookie, an African American, interviewed these African American teachers, a common racial bond existed on both sides of the conversation that was not present when the researchers were White and the informants were African American. It may well be that trust, so important to rapport and truth telling in a research process, is more deeply and immediately established when race is held in common. Furthermore, we can't ignore a possible gender link as well. Most of the African American teachers were women, as was the researcher. On the other hand, there is inherent danger in simplistic assumptions about group identity; i.e., that the common race across "researcher" and "researched" necessarily, in and of itself, signals emic understanding on the part of the researcher (Ladson-Billings, 2000b). It may well be that, from the lens of these African American teachers, the common bond of race leads them to *expect* such understanding from Cookie; thus, the immediate call to turn off the tape recorder so that their "truth" about the White

problem could be voiced.

Through the CRT lens, we agree with Harding's (1993) attempt at reconstructing what traditional science assumes about "objectivity." Understanding and changing the assumptions of scientific research processes, she maintains, will help us to get at "less false stories." Lessening false stories enhances truth value. On the one hand, understanding the dynamic between the identity of the researcher viz a viz that of the informants can inform that effort. Such understanding on the part of the researcher makes us more "objective." On the other hand, being blind to that intersection comes at some cost to the quality and trustworthiness of our research. Rather than a research "truth" being grounded in a Western scientific bias, research process is *more* faithful to truth when grounded in alternative views of science, according to Olesen (2000), who interprets Harding's work in this way:

> Harding [was prompted] to reject reliance on processes strictly governed by methodological rules and to argue that researchers should examine critically their own personal and historical commitments with which they construct their work....she points to the critical difference between sociological, cultural, and historical relativism (listening carefully to others' views) and judgmental relativism (abandoning any claims for adjudicating between different systems of beliefs and their social origins). Her solution is a posture of 'strong objectivity' (Harding, 1991). Strong objectivity contrasts sharply with value-free objectivity and posits the interplay of the researcher and participant. (p. 223)

In our study, then, acknowledging that the "truths" constructed by African American researchers from interviews with African American teachers come from a

special interplay that is different from the interplay between White researchers and African American informants, which may lead to other constructed "truths." Understanding these various truths make us more "strongly objective."

A rather unique research project permitted two researchers to experience the role of informants, enabling them to reflect on the dual identities of "researcher" and "researched." In this study, Tillman-Healy and Kiesinger (2001) moved between the positions of informant and interviewer. In other words, each played both roles. They reflected on that process in which the researcher is not necessarily only a participant observer, but an "observer of participation" (p. 82). They were able, then, to reflect on the respondent's perspectives in ways that researchers are typically unable to do. They concluded at one point:

> The presence of an invested other permitted each of us to work through and express emotions. Uncovering our most closely guarded secrets was frightening at first, but ultimately, quite empowering. In our time spent as informants, each of us released some of the guilt associated with her (once-) concealed self. (Tillman-Healy & Kiesinger, p. 101

Qualitative research always positions the researcher in multiple roles, multiple identities. Not only do we bring our "selves" as raced, gendered, aged, historied, and socially contextualized individuals to the research process, we also bring our identities as they are predisposed to interact with others, others like us and others unlike us. We also bring our "closely guarded secrets" the uncovering of which may, in fact, be quite "frightening." In Cookie's experiences recounted here, the dominant identity was race. Not only did the emerging data differ depending on the interaction of race of the

"researcher" and the "researched," but the content of the interaction was also a content of race.

What "truth" is constructed from data that might differ based on the researcher's race? What if, for example, the "truth" of school life for African American teachers comes from the voices Cookie hears but not from the voices Jeff (the White male researcher) hears? What if, for example, the opposite is the case; namely, that the "truth" of school life for African American teachers comes from the voices Jeff hears but not from the voices Cookie hears? While, obviously, *both* truths construct the meaning of the teachers' lives, interviews are typically carried out by solo interviewers. We're forced to accept, then, only partial truth can be tapped.

Related to research process are mounting ethical issues: is there a scientific obligation for the researcher to include as "data" what is told after the tape recorder is turned off? Or, rather, is there an ethical obligation for the researcher to resist including the "data" that comes when the tape is off? What is the researcher's obligation to voices "on the record" and "off the record?"

In writing about her study of African American female principals, Green-Powell (1997) reported the fact that the "off the record" conversations took place as she presented her research results. She writes:

> On several occasions during the taped interview sessions, when the conversations began to center on discrimination and racism, several of the principals requested that I turn off the recorder because they did not want the information included in the research study. (p. 215)

Here, Green-Powell reported on that phenomena and then drops the issue. She moves to the next

paragraph. The reader is persuaded that the "off the record" comments remained separate from the data that were analyzed; at least, we need to say, as much as such compartmentalization is humanly possible.

The final comment about research process addresses the power of the field journal. It was through Cookie's regular journal writing that she was able to reveal the pattern of interactions with the African American teachers. Field notes assist in capturing what is occurring *in situ* and in close proximity and time to the researcher's experience. These notes inform the researcher's journal, a deeper, and more personal, and more reflective tome. Such texts, as we found here, themselves can become the focus of inquiry.

Having discussed research process, the first dynamic, we turn to the second dynamic - the content of the "off the record" voices. The content was the "problem" of the White teachers. We may speculate that it was probably not the need to have one's unrecorded voice heard about *any* topic that motivated the question: "Is the tape off?" It was likely the need to have one's voice unrecorded when revealing the reality of racism.

It is possible that the distrust of their White colleagues expressed by the African American educators was a reflection of the attitude of many African Americans in American society towards Whites rather than actual observed instances of bias. In her book Why are all the African American kids sitting together in the cafeteria? (1997), Beverly Tatum says:

> when White men and women begin to understand that they are viewed as members of a dominant racial group not only by other Whites but also people of color, they are sometimes troubled, even angered to learn that simply because of their group status they

are viewed with suspicion by many people of color." (p. 104)

It is possible, therefore, that the African American educators are simply distrustful of the White teachers because they are White and therefore presumed to be prejudiced and incapable of caring about African American children. It is not too broad a leap to take, then, to assume that that distrust might be extended to include White researchers. The African American teachers' views are consistent with CRT, which explains that schools can play a role in maintaining White racism. These teachers could be expected to believe both in the endemic quality of racism in America and to reject their White colleagues' (and perhaps White researchers') claims of neutrality. That several African American teachers elicited nostalgia for segregated schools reflects how deep were their convictions about White racism in their schools.

The purpose of this paper was to raise several questions that need to be considered by the educational research community; questions such as:

1. How can research shape education reform if only a partial "truth" of the school is available to all researchers?

2. If respondents filter their answers through a racial context what impact does that have on the truth value of conclusions reached by the researcher?

3. How can we co-construct the meanings of school life across race boundaries without naïve reliance on bureaucratic processes that reify the differences that preclude the very process of co-constructing?

The role of race in education is all too frequently ignored in both practice and theory. African American educators like Ladson-Billings, (2000a) and hooks, (2000), encourage us to examine the ways in which race impacts educators, students and schools. In order to do that, we

must acknowledge the limitations of research and researchers when race is a variable. While CRT might suggest that schools play a role in maintaining racist culture, the same theory offers the possibility of transforming that hegemony from those same school locations.

Research procedures and practices must be developed to address the impact of race on data collection and interpretation. If this is not done the picture constructed of the schools will be severely out of focus. Without learning to work around the barriers of communication and mistrust erected by race and racism, the researcher will only get a partial glimpse of the reality of the respondents, their students and their schools and the conclusions reached based on such a partial view may be seriously flawed.

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Table 1.

Demographic Profiles: Race of Students

Public Schools

	African American	White	Other
Johnson N=608	538 (88.49%)	63 (10.36%)	7 (1.15%)
Frazer N=418	236 (56.46%)	161 (38.52%)	21 (5.02%)
Redford N=644	591 (91.77%)	53 (8.23%)	0 (0.00%)
Walton N=366	311 (84.97%)	54 (14.75%)	1 (0.27%)
N =2036			
Private Schools			
Rose Lane N=242	238 (98.35%)	2 (0.82%)	2 (0.83%)
Deer Creek N=245	245 (100.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Hayes Hill N=237	9 (3.8%)	224 (94.51%)	4 (1.69%)
Charles Park N=261	116 (44.44%)	142 (54.41%)	3 (1.15%
N=985			

Table 2

Demographic Profiles: Race of Teachers

Public Schools

Race	African American	White	Other
Johnson N=35	14 (40.00%)	21 (60.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Frazer N=29	7 (24.14%)	22 (75.86%)	0 (0.00%)
Redford N=35	18 (51.42%)	17 (48.58%)	0 (0.00%)
Walton N=24	16 (66.67%)	8 (33.33%)	0 (0.00%)
Total N	55 (44.72%)	68 (55.28%)	0 (0.00%)
Private Schools			
Rose Lane N=15	6 (40.00%)	9 (60.00)	0 (0.00%)
Deer Creek N=14	5 (41.67%)	9 (60.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Hayes Hill N=9	1 (11.11%)	8 (88.89%)	0 (0.00%)
Charles Park N=15	3 (20.00%)	12 (80.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Total N	15 (28.30%)	38 (71.70%)	0 (0.00%)